

BIL MORRISON
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ers by Dr. L. P. Jacks.

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PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

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FOURPENCE

K. ZILLIACUS
The Cold War and the
Cominform Trials

PAGE THREE

UNO and Korea

From a Political Correspondent

WITH the resumption of the adjourned session of the U.N. Assembly the question of Korea is again uppermost in the minds of the delegates. Unfortunately the prospect of a settlement does not seem to have been advanced by the opening exchange.

It is to be regretted that the Soviet proposal that N. Korean representatives should be present at the discussions was defeated by 35 votes to 16, but it is significant that on this occasion the Arab-Asian delegation voted in favour and that there were 6 abstentions.

On previous occasions a similar motion has not secured more than 8 votes.

The maiden speech of the new leader of the American delegation, Senator Cabot Lodge, ran true to the tough policy of the new Administration but was badly calculated to emphasise the conciliatory processes of the Charter. He assumed that the Communists do not want peace in Korea, regarded the refusal of the Indian proposals as "monstrous" and suggested that the deadlock must await a change of heart on the part of the aggressors, and that there were many reasons to induce such a change.

He supported his view by citing "ten facts," challenging Mr. Vyshinsky to disprove them.

Proposals for a cease fire

It is also to be regretted that an article by Alexei Moskalevko on the front page of Soviet News for February 26, again asserts that the Indian resolution "contains no specific proposals for a cease fire in Korea."

It is time that this lie was nailed. The whole purpose of the Indian proposals was to secure an immediate cease fire, and when the Russian delegate expressed a doubt of this at the time, Mr. Krishna Menon specifically inserted in his proposals words which made this clear.

In the earlier negotiations for a cease fire it was recognised that agreement would have to be reached on military conditions, and there was no suggestion that a discussion of them meant that there was no desire for a cease fire.

They were the specific military proposals to secure a cease fire.

So the Indian proposals, in an attempt to find a compromise between the divergent views on the PoW issue, suggested a formula on which both sides could agree as a preliminary to an immediate cease fire. If the Russians and Chinese had agreed there would have been a cease-fire and the commissions to deal with the repatriation of prisoners would have had to meet without delay.

Russia may have had what seem to her to be good reasons for rejecting the Indian proposals, but they have no grounds for stating that the proposals did not contain any specific plans for a cease-fire. It should not be forgotten that the Soviet proposals for an immediate cease-fire also contained other plans including the appointment of a commission to deal with the repatriation of PoWs.

Repatriation of PoWs

The difference between the two proposals is that the Russian proposal was for an immediate cease-fire in accordance with the agreed military conditions, to be followed by the setting up of an 11-member commission to deal with prisoners "in accordance with international practice."

Because of the difference of opinion as to the interpretation of international practice, the Indian proposals sought agreement to settle the prisoners issue by a Four-Power commission and an umpire on the basis of the Geneva Conventions dated August 12, 1949, and interpreted as "no forcible detention and no forcible repatriation," and specifically stated that so soon as the two sides accepted that plan and an umpire had been appointed (which had to be within three weeks at the latest) "the draft armistice agreement shall be deemed to have been accepted by them."

Not, be it noted, after the future of PoWs had been settled, that is at the end of 90 days (as some seem to suppose), but so soon as the basis for dealing with the problem had been agreed.

The cease-fire would have been as certain as the Indian proposals had been accepted by the Russians and the Chinese as if the Soviet proposals had been accepted by UN. If there is no more than this between the two proposals the Assembly must set itself to find a way of resolving the difficulty for the sake of the Koreans who are being destroyed in the name of liberation, of the United Nations whose whole example is being undermined by this example of protracted collective security, and of the whole world whose peace is further endangered each day the struggle is prolonged.

Overthrow this violent mentality that has got America by the throat —Dr. DONALD SOPER

NO WAR WITH CHINA

500m. unrepresented at UN

By OLAVEN BATTERSBY

THIS MEETING STRONGLY DISAPPROVES THE AMERICAN DECISION IN RESPECT OF FORMOSA AND EXPRESSES ITS RESOLUTE OPPOSITION TO THE EXTENSION OF THE KOREAN CONFLICT TO CHINA.

This resolution was passed unanimously by a crowded meeting organised by the Peace with China Council at Kingsway Hall, London, on Monday.

It was a resolution, said Lord Stansgate, the Chairman, which might be passed with equal unanimity at almost any meeting in any part of the country today.

The necessity for the resolution lay in the change of government in the United States. It must be made clear to the new government that under no circumstances would we be involved in any venture of this kind, and that any attempt to widen the war in Korea would meet with the fiercest opposition in this country.

"Half-baked global strategy"

Setting aside moral issues, he would oppose such a move on four grounds:

- (1) It would destroy our trade: unlike America or the Soviet Union we could not engage in interstate trade, but must remain a world wide trading community.
- (2) We should be entering a war we could not hope to win, and be creating the amalgamation of all Communist forces.
- (3) We should alienate all Asian peoples; for the war was rapidly becoming a race war with an alignment of coloured peoples against white.
- (4) Lastly, thanks to our recent more enlightened colonial policy we had become a power of great spiritual strength: we were now being asked to sacrifice this strength "on behalf of some half-baked amateur global strategy."

Silence will be taken for consent
—R. H. S. Crossman, MP

Mr. R. H. S. Crossman, Labour MP for Coventry East, said that in Parliament Mr. Eden had made out a good case for the neutralisation of Formosa, and had rebuked those who spoke out fearlessly against it.

But what actually happened? President Eisenhower was shocked and moderated his words, not because of the politeness of Mr. Eden but because of the frankness of the people Mr. Eden rebuked.

"Unless we are vocal, our silence will be taken for consent," he continued. "I believe in fairness in Anglo-American relations, and therefore I believe in leaving no doubt in the mind of President Eisenhower of our feelings."

Pressure of British public opinion had

caused MacArthur to be halted, but his ideas had prevailed. This might be due to our own weakness. He believed that "we must sustain this campaign week after week, month after month, until peace is attained."

U.S. policy based on total war

The position today was infinitely more dangerous because America had openly declared for a policy of "liberation"; a "Crusade against Communism" was now the official policy.

Mr. Dulles had said in a recent speech that the old policy of containment had in fact been scrapped and substituted by one in which there should be no trading or dealing with Communists, only a determination to overthrow the Communist regime and to liberate 800 million people. "America," said Mr. Crossman, "has decided to base its foreign policy on total war, and on using its strength to disrupt China and Russia."

It was a policy which would divide the world into two great power blocs and which, if prosecuted, could only end in World War III.

Speaking of the failure to prevent the spread of MacArthurism in America, Mr. Crossman said:

"We have the majority of the inhabitants of the world on our side, and possibly the majority of the inhabitants of America if they had the courage to say so. All peoples are on our side."

But failure lay with ourselves. We felt we must compromise. Our "No" was a half "No", or a quarter "No", never 100

per cent "No" because we were told that otherwise the United States would go isolationist.

"This statement," he continued, "is the most mysterious of all. American bases around the world do not indicate isolationism. Let us not be frightened to stand on our principles because we are told that it will create calamity."

The Korean war broke out in June 1950. If earlier, in 1949, when the British government recognised the Chinese government and when the United States was itself undecided, the Labour government had gone all out to bring China into the United Nations he believed that there would have been no Korean war.

Britain's course, however, had been one of compromise. When our forces reached the 38th parallel we were tempted by a resolution on the unification of Korea and so wrote in the directive which justified MacArthur in his advance. We compromised again on the branding of China as an aggressor.

Reinforce the principles of UN

"We are exercising a sluggish brake, but not putting forward a constructive policy," Mr. Crossman concluded. "We should reaffirm our principles, and fight for them 100 per cent."

There were three things he felt we should do:

- (1) Reaffirm our recognition of the New China, and our opposition to the representation of Chiang Kai-shek at the United Nations;
- (2) Recognise the fact that revolution in the Far East was not necessarily Communist—as for instance those of India, Ceylon and Pakistan; and
- (3) Pick up and reinforce the principles of the United Nations.

The Charter of the United Nations had not been designed for a war of liberation. If Mr. Dulles and America have changed their minds about the purposes of this campaign we should make them change their minds again, or tell them that our soldiers

● Back page, col. one

ATOMIC ENERGY IS FOR WAR — NOT PEACE

Scientist CO quits job "for an ideal"

THE whole of atomic energy is devoted to war purposes; everything else is a mere sideline. I have seen it from the inside and I know what it is.

This was the testimony of David Alun Jones at the Cardiff Local Tribunal last week.

David Jones took an Honours Degree in chemistry in June 1951 and went to work in the Division of Atomic Energy of the Ministry of Supply as a research chemist. In that post he was exempt from call-up. He was engaged in research into plutonium—fuel for atomic bombs.

After six months of this type of work he came to the conclusion that the whole spirit of Christianity was opposed to war. Personal bereavement—the loss of his father and brother—shocked him into a realisation of his position.

"I was settling down to a nice comfortable life," he told the Tribunal, "earning a nice comfortable wage. Then I felt I was shirking everything, and I wanted to go back to some ideal—I wanted to live not just for myself but to do something that was worthwhile." So twenty-two-year-old David Jones threw up his job and began to train as a doctor.

Wanted to do humanitarian work

In his Tribunal statement he said, "an attitude opposed to war, but doing nothing concrete to affect the issue, is worse than futile. I believed that war was wrong. I believed in the true brotherhood of man. I believed in one's duty, one's privilege towards one's neighbour. I wanted to do something, however small and insignificant, to try to translate those principles into everyday life."

"To remain in my post in the Ministry of Supply would only be shirking the issue. I was indirectly helping to prepare for war. I was doing nothing at all to prevent it."

Jones said that he wanted then to do work of a humanitarian character, and medicine seemed to be the answer. "Medicine knows no national frontiers," he declared, "a doctor takes his place as an individual and not as a member of any race or class."

Amongst the testimonials which were produced in his support was one which stated: "He had probably a brilliant future before him in atomic research."

The Tribunal decided that David Jones should have his name registered in the register of conscientious objectors without conditions.

Helped Lloyd George at Anti - Boer - War meeting

DEATH OF E. V. ROGERS

ONLY a fortnight before his death on February 27, Edgar Rogers, a life-long campaigner for pacifism, expressed to a friend his great satisfaction that, even in his passing, he would render some service to the movement he loved. For E.V.R. had ensured that family and friends would give to work for peace the cost of the floral tributes they would otherwise have sent.

At 83 years of age he had remained a tireless enthusiast for numerous worthy causes. A fortnight before his death he had devoted his usual two days a week to the No Conscription Council office, helped the National Peace Council as he had for at least twenty years, delivered his large quota of Peace News and, on the day before his death, he had discussed the revival of Ealing PPU group with Connie Jones, the movement's fieldworker. He would have lived longer had he not insisted on continuing these tasks against his doctor's advice.

Disguised as a police-officer

When Lloyd George had to escape disguised as a police officer from the famous Birmingham Anti-Boer-War meeting, it was Edgar Rogers who assisted his getaway. For he was active in anti-war organisations before the turn of the century, and maintained his witness with un-

diminished vigour through each successive war.

He had been an active member of the Unitarian Church, the Independent Labour Party and the No More War Movement, a fervent opponent of vivisection and vaccination, a life-long vegetarian, had distributed Peace News since the first issue, and was a tower of strength to numerous pacifists in Ealing and West London, as in earlier years he had been in Gloucester and the Midlands.

No important London meeting was complete without him, and he could usually be found taking some practical part in its running.

In 1945 he and his wife celebrated their golden wedding. They were inseparable comrades in all these endeavours. At his memorial service at Mortlake Crematorium representatives of the No Conscription Council, the National Peace Council, Peace Pledge Union and Peace News joined a large company of relatives and local pacifists in honouring a man of rare devotion. Though he never achieved, or desired, eminence, his life of unassuming and happy application to the details of pacifist work will long inspire all who knew him.

H.F.M.

(Harrison Barrow—page six)

PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N-4
STAmford Hill 2262 (three lines)

6th March, 1953

CARRIED AWAY

"CARRIED away by his own enthusiasm" remarks Kenneth Ames in the News Chronicle, of General Sir Richard Gale, who, speaking to a Press conference about the modern equipment he is receiving, said "I would not mind going to war with the whole lot any time."

General Gale is British Commander in North-West Germany.

The rather apparent tendency of top-ranking generals to get carried away by their own enthusiasm is a serious danger-point in a world that is becoming more and more militarised. We saw it in a very acute form in General MacArthur in Korea, and the generals who have been on the scene since his departure have given not a few indications of the same temper.

Given the mind trained to militarism, such an outlook is, of course, understandable. Not a month passes without the production of some new and more wonderful apparatus for killing and, as with new machines in industry and new contrivances for speed, there is an ache to bring them into use.

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General Gale now has at his disposal new British tanks with 20-pounder guns which are more than a match for the Josef Stalin III tank, the world's heaviest and most formidable piece of land armour.

General Gale will also have at his disposal the American 3.5 rocket-launcher, which fires an 8 lb. rocket, although he will be a little galled to know that the French can get "better" results with a similar weapon firing a 21 lb. rocket.

He also has a rifle-fired anti-tank grenade which weighs only 21 oz. and can be fired from the standard service rifle, and a new gun to replace the Sten gun, the Patchett machine carbine.

What an appalling waste and disappointment if all these ingenious and fascinating contrivances have to be left untested!

Of course Russia is also improving its equipment and adding new contrivances. As Marshall Alexander Vasilevsky, the Russian Minister for War, told the last Communist Party Congress:

"The new five-year plan would create conditions for a better supply to the army of first-class modern arms and munitions in considerably greater quantities than in World War II. Beyond doubt, Soviet scientists, with industry further developed, would create still better models."

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Above all, however, General Gale is likely to have one or two atomic weapons at his disposal. These are not, of course, the atomic bombs destined for the big cities but smaller affairs for artillery use. General Gale has also 250,000 soldiers under his command who are receiving training in atomic warfare from American experts.

There will be certain difficulties of course, in using atomic weapons even on a tactical scale if the army is operating on the territory of a friendly country—or that is at any rate, for the time being, not an enemy country—but General Gale is confident that

"If one has a few atom bombs in hand, the finding of suitable targets is not beyond the wit of man."

The German people can therefore be reassured! Well, perhaps, up to a point. In dealing with his Press conference, General Gale seems to have been at some pains to suggest that the instruction that is being given in the use of atomic weapons is for self-protection, and defence against similar weapons employed by the enemy.

This, however, was not the assumption made when, some eighteen months ago, Mr. Gordon Dean, as Chairman of the USA Atomic Energy Commission, announced that it would be possible to use nuclear weapons for artillery purposes against soldiers in warfare.

The comfort we were expected to get from this fact was that the West would have such weapons and the East would not.

Whether Russia has them or not, however, it can be taken for granted that when General Gale gets the war he does not mind contemplating, the use of atomic weapons in the field will inevitably lead to the use of atomic bombs on the cities.

When the statesmen get equally carried away with the generals, and, as General Gale puts it, "the balloon goes up," much also will be carried away; and this will certainly include the social structure and civilisation of Europe, and probably the greater part of its population.

Surely every reasonable man and woman, whether or not they have hitherto made the orthodox militarist assumptions regarding "defence," can see that today we are moving at appalling speed to greater and greater insecurity, and that it is time we considered a reversal of this policy.

Half way

WE do not think that President Eisenhower was mainly referring to a geographical point when he said that he was prepared to go half-way to meet Mr. Stalin.

He said, indeed, that he would meet anyone anywhere if there were a chance of accomplishing something for the cause of world freedom.

He seems, therefore, to have meant that he will go half-way if Mr. Stalin will come half-way, or in other words, Mr. Eisenhower is asking for the acceptance of certain preliminary conditions.

Before the President asks Mr. Stalin to accept any preliminary conditions it would be helpful if he would define more precisely what he means by going half-way.

It would certainly make a meeting easier if he would give some indication of how far, for example, he is prepared to soften his "get tough" policy.

Will he change his mind about a crusade of liberation? Does he believe in the possibility of co-existence?

What is he prepared to offer to make possible a real settlement by negotiation in connection with Korea and Germany?

After all, Mr. Stalin in his previous replies to questions put to him has given some indication of how far he is prepared to go and has stated his belief in the possibility of co-existence.

The President's other conditions were:

(a) "That the meeting should be in keeping with what the American people expect of their President." Remembering that he became President largely on the votes of those who were persuaded that he meant to bring the war in Korea to an end, this condition would seem to be already fulfilled.

(b) "That the meeting should be under the full knowledge of America's allies." This condition is easily fulfilled, and indeed so far as Great Britain is concerned, Mr. Churchill has stated his attitude in Parliament.

(c) "That there should be hope of achieving something for peace." Perhaps that is the real stumbling block, for a reason which is not always grasped.

On the supposition that everybody would welcome such talks in the hope that they would lead to a lessening of the tension, it must be realised that such a meeting would be the ultimate ratio—at it the last word would really be spoken.

If those at top level met and failed to achieve any solution, the result would be not a negative failure—one more abortive conference; it would be tantamount to the end of any hope of peace by negotiation.

It might well come to mean that the die had been cast, and as a result, not only would there be no step towards peace, but a fatal step towards war.

We believe that it is considerations of this kind which make Churchill and Eisenhower reluctant to put matters to the proof.

The second mile

IN the present cold-war policy of distrust and fear and preparation for a hot war there is no hope of achieving peace.

Mr. Churchill and President Eisenhower should be ready to meet Mr. Stalin with no other preliminary condition than a genuine desire to make the conference a success at all costs.

Above all they should remember the eternal wisdom expressed in the injunction not that we should be ready to go half-way to meet another, but that if any man

Leaves from a notebook . . .

THE Standing Joint Pacifist Committee is the somewhat heavy title for a body which should enable pacifists to step a bit more lively on matters of common concern.

The idea has been brewing for a while now as closer understanding and cohesion between major pacifist groups developed. The S.J.P.C. not only consolidates what has been achieved to date but opens up new prospects of extended co-operation between the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Peace Pledge Union, Quakers and smaller political and religious pacifist bodies.

Formally the purpose of the Committee is "to give opportunity for regular consultation and for corporate or simultaneous action on specific issues."

Officers are: Chairman—Clifford Macquaire; Hon. Secretary: Wallace Hancock, who writes "by joint action many resources may become available to the whole pacifist movement which were not easily mobilised by each separate part."

ON A YAK TRACK

ONE of Birmingham's most active PPU members, Lettice Grove, sailed for India on Tuesday. Her destination is the "Colony of Courage," situated in the Himalayas 6,000 feet up on the road to Tibet.

The "Colony" is a farming settlement where a group of Eurasians are living with their children. Some of them are descendants of mixed marriages, others of children rescued from the brothels surrounding Britain's military bases in South India and Ceylon.

The "Colony" was started twenty years ago, but the war hindered its proper development. Now the courageous colonists are clearing jungle land, building homes, and providing a school for the first generation of children.

BEHIND THE NEWS

would compel us to go one mile we should be prepared to go two. It is the policy of the second mile which leads to peace.

The right thing to do

IN a recent letter to The Times Lord Elibank suggested that what would "advance the cause of a free world" would be "if China was given the United Nations membership to which she is entitled in the terms of the Charter."

He was, of course, referring to the Peking Government and quoted The Times' Canberra correspondent (Dec. 11, 1950):

"Only optimists can hope for improved relations whilst the seat on the Security Council to which China is entitled, is occupied by a refugee government."

Lord Elibank urged that Her Majesty's Government should "stand up clearly and openly in the United Nations for what is right, and move that China be admitted a member of the Organisation."

He also quoted Lord Grey of Falloden: "I have found that to do the right thing is generally the right thing to do."

It is good to have the support of Lord Elibank for the proposal which Peace News has been making for many months and which is essential for any peace settlement in the Far East.

Nightmare

CHIANG KAI-SHEK continues his dream of reoccupying the mainland and of a blockade of the Chinese coast.

His Cabinet has got ahead of the American Congress by endorsing a plan to repudiate the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance signed in Moscow in August, 1945, as an outcome of the Yalta Agreement.

By abrogating the Treaty, Nationalist China is seeking authority to blockade the ports of Dairen and Port Arthur.

If one man's meat can be another man's poison, one man's ambitious dreams could indeed be a world nightmare.

Plot and Counterplot

WHAT, asks the leader writer in the Manchester Guardian, are the Communists planning in reply to America's new move in Asia?

We have already indicated that our guess is that the leaders of the Soviet Union are turning their attention more and more away from Europe, where they will accept a stalemate, to a similar intensification of the cold war in Asia and the Middle East.

The irony of the new American slogan that Asians should be used to fight Asians is that it is already Russian policy to use Asians to fight Europeans.

We do not believe that the Communists will be seriously alarmed by a threat to arm more South Koreans or by the encouragement to Chiang Kai-shek to invade

the Chinese mainland. In the meantime, the Communists are turning their attack elsewhere, for example, towards Japan.

It would not be difficult for the Communists, as a counter-measure to American policy, to send Vietnam sufficient help to tilt the balance against the French and force upon America an immediate decision as to how far her get tough policy is based on whether she is prepared to lengthen the battle line in the Far East. Indeed, India-China might well become the most dangerous flash point after Berlin.

Peking Radio and a station calling itself Free Japan are mingling threats with inducements, suggesting that if Japan decides to throw in her lot with America there is no hope for her trade with China.

If Japan will break with America her ports in China will be opened to Japanese trade.

There is also a veiled threat that the repatriation of Japanese might cease while Russian planes flying over the north-eastern islands remind Japan of her vulnerability. Nor are there wanting signs of an attempt to stir up hostility against the USA in South America.

America must remember that Communists do not rely only on military counter-moves, and that every move the U.S. makes will be met by military moves if necessary, but certainly by political moves.

Nothing so completely re-inforces the need for a meeting of East and West representatives at top level, the abandonment of plot and counter-plot and the sincere attempt to find a solution for the causes of tension in Asia and Europe.

Germ warfare charges

THE Chinese Government through Peking Radio, has renewed the charges that America has resorted to bacteriological warfare.

The United States, it is alleged, sought to establish a contaminating force across the central part of North Korea.

Statements that are claimed to have established this fact have been quoted from Colonel P. H. Schwable and Major R. Bley, who are prisoners of war held by the Chinese.

Similar statements have previously been made by two other prisoners of war, tenants J. Quinn and K. L. Enoch. It has also been claimed that statements charging the Americans with this form of warfare have been made by the captured intelligence agents (unnamed, however, these cases).

The statements quoted from Colonel Schwable and Major Bley have immediately been denied by General Mark Clark, Allied Commander in Korea. There are, of course, been previous denials of statements made by Lieutenants Quinn and Enoch.

These statements made by the prisoners whose names have been given are in a different category from the evidence offered. They can quite easily be tested.

For this, however, it is necessary that there shall be the will that they shall be tested, on the Chinese as well as on the American side. All the statements issued by name other people in the American forces and a confrontation before any tribunal qualified to examine evidence clear the matter up.

From the American side have come proposals for an examination of these charges. These the Chinese have rejected, as are clearly fully entitled to do. What they are not entitled to do is to reject all proposals for a tribunal to examine charges, made by those who are under accusation, while they themselves make proposals at all for an impartial court of enquiry, and at the same time add further testimony to the charges while taking care that it shall not be investigated.

The Chinese should seriously further the establishment of a detached investigating body by which the accusations could be examined and before which Colonel Schwable, Major Bley, and Lieutenants Quinn and Enoch could be called to testify.

If they will not do this, they should cease the repetition of these charges.

Bacteriological warfare, if it is being waged, is a foul thing; but so also is propaganda seeking to show that an enemy is foul, even by the evil standards of war if it is no more than propaganda and does not therefore be submitted to the test of impartial enquiry.

Extinguishing more lights

THAT the Russians must not be permitted to take an unblinkingly view of the world beyond the horizon is the constant assertion of the publicists of the "free world" and it is, of course, true.

There is, however, a rapidly developing tendency to make the "free world," America taking the lead, a counterparty to Russia in this respect so that no American is to be permitted to take an unblinkingly view of the world across the iron curtain or to be able to exercise his own judgement on the accounts he is given of it.

The latest development in this respect is the disciplining of the broadsheet division of the "Voice of America," seeking to extend an understanding of American conditions and aims those possible for these programmes evidence

(Continued on page six)

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on page six)

MARCH 6, 1953, PEACE NEWS 3

Why?

I'M nearly a nervous wreck now and I'm sick to death of killing people and seeing them killed. I'm tired and scared of guys begging me to shoot them to put them out of pain . . . I don't sleep any more. I dream. It isn't bad enough to see it happen once. I have to keep dreaming about it. I have to tell somebody, it just to get it out of my system. If nothing else, it might stop my dreaming. It's all cooped up in my head and if I don't get it out I'll go nuts. I do go a little nuts when I get into the thick of it.

I don't take any prisoners when they crawl out of their bunkers. I let them have it, not once, plenty. I don't know what comes over me. I like to shoot everyone in the face, so the stinking, rotten guys can see what's coming. I regret it afterwards. I don't really mean to do it like that, but I don't seem to know what I'm doing.

I'm quite an accomplished killer now . . . If I shoot for the temple and the top of the head flies off and his eyes pop from their sockets, I know I've made a perfect shot . . . What I'm really worried about is will this stop with the war. Will a life mean anything to me when I get back home and I lose my temper? Maybe in time I'll get over it, but to just kill for the sake of killing, I can't figure it out.

Extract from a letter written by a wounded American soldier in Korea.—The N.Z. Christian Pacificist, September, 1952.

Why?

A TINY kitten, lost in the November fog, cries at the door, and at once all thoughts and sympathies are organised on its behalf.

Over the radio comes the 1 o'clock news: "In Korea, United Nations fighter-bombers today dropped napalm on enemy troop concentrations . . ."

The announcer's voice goes smoothly on, and so does the lunch-time conversation. It is true that the frizzled, still-living human horrors, with skin like crackling, who are left in the wake of our aircraft are not actually on our doorstep, although the responsibility is.

Is it that there are limits to the horrors which the mind can comprehend, and so the further modern war goes beyond those limits, the less likely are men to be stirred into action against them?

—Douglas Hyde, Catholic Herald, November 21, 1952.

Cominform States are the outcome of this decision. It was taken as the Soviet reply to the even more menacing character of American policy as seen from Moscow.

The advance from "containment of Communism" to the policy of "liberation" of Communist-governed countries proclaimed by Eisenhower and Dulles must be held directly and largely responsible for the latest turn of the screw on the Soviet side of the cold war.

January 26

Mr. Emrys Hughes (Lab. Pembroke): On what grounds has the Foreign Secretary so far refused to propose that China's seat at the United Nations should be declared temporarily vacant?

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, Minister of State: I am advised that under the terms of the Charter and the Rules of Procedure of the United Nations, there is no power to declare the seat of a Member State to be vacant.

Mr. S. Silverman (Lab. Nelson and Colne): Does not the right hon. and learned Gentleman consider it quite absurd and contrary to all common sense, that the

granime which includes most of the larger cities has been worked out.

February 23

Mr. Clement Davies (Lib. Montgomery): Has the Prime Minister's attention been drawn to the generous gift of money for the Flood Relief Fund from the people of Russia. What steps is he taking to express to them the thanks of the British people?

Mr. Winston Churchill: I asked Mr. Gromyko, the Soviet Ambassador, to call upon me so that I might express personally my thanks for this act of kindness, which is warmly appreciated by the British nation. Accordingly he visited me at 10, Downing Street this morning for the purpose. He undertook to convey my thanks and those of Her Majesty's Government to all concerned.

February 25

Mr. Emrys Hughes (Lab. Ayrshire S): Is there not an excellent war-time film of the Prime Minister meeting Marshal Stalin in Moscow, Yalta and Tehran, and could not the BBC be asked to exhibit the film on television so that we may know there is a precedent for these gentlemen meeting again?

Mr. Nigel Birch (Parliamentary Sec. to the Min. of Defence): Perhaps the hon. Gentleman will put that up to the BBC.

Mr. Lyttelton (Colonial Secretary): Total casualties in Kenya since the declaration of the Emergency on Oct. 20, 1952 are 97 Africans, eight Europeans and three Africans murdered, and 44 Africans, seven Europeans and three Asians seriously wounded; 161 Africans have been killed and 101 seriously wounded in operations by the security forces.

Mr. Leslie Hale (Lab. Oldham West): In view of the gravity and tragedy of these figures would not the right hon. Gentleman seriously consider trying to substitute for a policy of ruling by fear a policy of winning the confidence of the African people?

Mr. Lyttelton: We cannot proceed with a policy of winning confidence on any lines except those which are now being pursued, which seek to make law-abiding Africans safe, and this cannot be done by failing to punish those who are engaging in murder.

Mr. Hale: It has not been done up to now. In November there was a chance of putting an end to this. The position is rapidly becoming more difficult and dangerous.

STUART MORRIS, General Secretary. Amount received to date: £36. Our aim for the year: £1,000.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

THE COLD WAR AND THE COMINFORM TRIALS

"Eisenhower and Dulles must be held directly responsible for the latest turn of the screw on the Soviet side of the cold war."

anti-Comintern Axis, and the "satiated" democratic powers, who wished only to defend what they possessed and were anxious for peace.

This faced the Soviet leadership with a difficult choice. One school, led by Kirov, the Secretary of the Leningrad Regional Committee of the Party, and the member of the Politbureau regarded as Stalin's favourite and probable successor, argued

In internal affairs this school of thought demanded a policy of ruthlessness and terror to put down all signs of opposition within the Party, to crush the desire for national autonomy in the non-Russian Republics and to chastise those who, for one reason or another, failed in carrying out their share of the Five Year Plan. This view, the growing danger of war and the fear of a Nazi-Japanese fifth column, which undoubtedly existed in the Soviet Union, was the driving force behind the trials and purges that swelled to monstrous dimensions in the 30's.

Hopes for allied unity

After the second world war there was for a time a hope in the USSR and the People's Democracies that the great powers who had been allies in the war could pull together afterwards, or at least not quarrel to the point where they began to prepare for war against each other.

On this assumption, the belief was widespread in the Soviet Union that the regime would become less harsh and give the Soviet peoples at long last the democracy and freedom they had been promised in the Stalin Constitution. In the People's Democracies it was believed that they could act as bridges between East and West and proceed to Socialism at a leisurely pace and by gentler and more democratic means better suited to their national traditions than the bloody and violent course of the Russian Revolution.

As the relations between the great powers degenerated into a cold war and an arms race, these hopes faded. The internal regimes of the Communist countries became tougher, they drew closer to the Soviet Union and the latter pressed home their demand for unchallenged leadership and authority in every sphere of public life.

The harshness of this policy bred the Yugoslav revolt and stand for independence. Instead of drawing the lesson that more freedom would produce greater loyalty and solidarity within the Cominform States, the Soviet Government got tougher and more terroristic than ever, both at home and in its relations with the People's Democracies.

The motive of its policy quite openly was to stamp out the fifth column subsidised by the \$100 million voted by the U.S. Congress for this purpose. The spectacular treason trials, the mass arrests and purges and the atmosphere of fear and suspicion in the

powerfully that sooner or later, the democracies and the Fascist Axis would clash, that the Soviet Union should join the democratic camp to stop Fascist aggression, and that she would get on better with the democracies if her own regime became freer and more democratic. The time was ripe for this change, he concluded, after the success of the collectivisation of the farms and the industrialisation of the country.

Another school in the Politbureau, led by Kaganovich and Yezhov, argued that there was not much to choose between the capitalist democracies and the Fascist powers, that the former were bent on appeasing the latter and would never fight them seriously, and that the Soviet Union had better not commit herself to either side while manoeuvring to prevent them joining forces against her.

January 26

Mr. Emrys Hughes: The Minister mentioned the explosions at Monte Bello. It seems to me that when we are facing a severe economic crisis and when we have to cut down expenditure on meals for school children we ought to pay attention to every Supplementary Estimate of this kind (Ministry of Supply) which is brought before us.

I believe that the whole of the Monte Bello experiment, which presumably is covered by this increase in the Estimate, was absolutely unnecessary if in another war we are going to fight alongside the United States. I believe that in the scare atmosphere which is being created, large vested interests are coming into being, in addition to the other vested interests that we have already.

I do not believe that we are entitled to pass an increased estimate for guided rockets, for example. What are these guided rockets going to hit? If they are going to hit something, are we not likely to expect other guided rockets as a present in return? This country is in danger as a result of the development of this new kind of warfare which the Minister has said will dominate the scene in the future.

February 2

Mr. F. Beswick (Lab. Uxbridge): What public money is being spent on research and development of thermo-nuclear weapons and, in particular, on the fusion type or so-called hydrogen bomb?

Mr. Duncan Sandys (Minister of Supply): I think it is a very good rule not to make public how much money is spent on military research and development or what we spend on it.

February 3

Sir H. Williams (Con. Croydon E): Will the Prime Minister state the terms of his agreement with the late President Roosevelt over the use of the atom bomb by the USA; and when this agreement was abrogated?

Mr. Winston Churchill: The time has not yet come to make a statement on these matters.

February 4

Mr. Hector Hughes (Lab. Aberdeen N): There is a vast body of public opinion, not only in this country but abroad, which is horrified at the bankruptcy of statesmanship which is unable to find a solution to the present impasse (in Korea) . . .

by K. ZILLIACUS

The writer was MP for Gateshead from 1915 to 1950. He was expelled from the Labour Party in May 1949 for persistent opposition to Government policies and attacks on the Atlantic Pact.

A graduate of Yale University, he served in the Royal Flying Corps during World War I and later as an Intelligence Officer to the British Military Mission in Siberia.

From 1919 to 1939 he was a member of the Information Section of the League of Nations Secretariat.

During the trial in Prague in November of former high Communist officials allegations were made that the accused had been in contact with Mr. Zilliacus who was described as an "imperialist agent." In a BBC broadcast Mr. Zilliacus denied having had any espionage contacts with Slansky, Clementis, Gemberler or any other of the accused. He had only met Slansky once (in the summer of 1946).

Evolution of the USSR

This is only the latest instance of the close relation between the internal evolution of the Soviet Union and the way she has been treated by the great capitalist powers. Ever since the Russian Revolution and Allied intervention to "strangle it in its cradle" as Mr. Churchill once put it in the House of Commons, the evolution of the USSR has been conditioned by two factors—the backwardness of Russia and the hostility of the capitalist world.

Lenin, in a famous article, argued that Tsarist Russia was the most backward and the worst governed of all the white nations. The Lord Emmott Committee, appointed by the Lloyd George Government on May 17, 1920 to "collect information on Russia" reported to Parliament after six months of Bolshevik rule that—

"Liberty was restricted only after two members of the Government had been assassinated, civil war and Allied intervention had started and the air was thick with plots and rumours of plots."

Sir Robert Bruce-Lockhart, who represented the British Government in Moscow during the Revolution, observed in his "Memoirs of a British Agent" that at the outset the Bolshevik regime was fairly tolerant:

"The cruelties which followed later were the result of the intensification of the civil war. For the intensification of that bloody struggle, Allied intervention . . . was largely responsible . . . it raised hopes which could not be fulfilled . . . Indirectly it was responsible for the Terror."

The failure of armed intervention was followed by boycott and non-recognition of the Soviet Union. Only gradually and grudgingly could the Western powers bring themselves to acknowledge the right of the Soviet Union to live at peace and trade with them. Then in 1933 the capitalist world split into the aggressive Fascist

Said in the House . . .

WD not WEA

Military arrangements in connection with the Coronation will cost about £150,000, the House of Commons was told last week.

Mr. Fernyhough, Labour MP for Jarrold asked the War Minister if he did not think it a great reflection on the Government that they were prepared to sabotage the work of the Workers' Educational Association by cutting a grant of £25,000 and yet were "prepared to spend £150,000 in this manner."

500 million people in China should continue to be misrepresented on the supreme world authority among States by this discredited refugee rump?

February 19

Mr. Boyd-Carpenter (Financial Sec. to the Treasury): The estimated net expenditure in 1952-3 amounts per head of the population per week to 2s. 9d. for the Navy, 4s. 8d. for the Army and 3s. 6d. for the RAF. These figures exclude that part of the expenditure of the Ministry of Supply and the Ministry of Defence which cannot be allocated to anyone of the Service Departments.

Mr. Emrys Hughes: As we are cutting expenditure on adult education and school meals, could not the Minister urge these departments to make some economies?

Sir D. Maxwell Fyfe, Home Secretary: The contingents from the Army and the RAF by which the Civil Defence Mobile Column is being manned, reported for duty on Jan. 1. By the beginning of May they should be ready to take part in exercises with the CD services of local authorities. An extensive tour pro-

PEACE NEWS FOR AFRICANS

We have a list of more than fifty African people of all races to whom Peace News would be of interest.

Who will volunteer to send them copies each week, or in regular bundles? Offers from groups to 'adopt' a number of them will be welcomed.

Don't waste those once read copies—send to the Publishing Dept., 4, Blackstock Road, London, N.4., for pass-on addresses.

TRANSATLANTIC QUOTES

THE world now has 19 million men in active military service. The annual cost is some £10,000 million or not less than one-eighth of the world's total production. —Grenville Clark, "Essentials for Genuine Peace," (USA) Jan. 14, 1953.

We are the most fortunate of men. There was a time when a professional soldier had to wait twenty-five years or so before he ever got into a war. We only had to wait five years for this one. For all that time we have been sitting on our fat behinds drawing our pay. Now we are going to earn it. We are going to work at our trade. We have chosen to live by the sword. If necessary we will perish by the sword. —Brig. Gen. Lewis B. Puller (U.S. Marines) speaking to troops on the eve of the assault on Seoul. *Conscription News* (USA), December 11, 1952.

There are some 800 public relations men at SHAPE headquarters, constantly sending out material on the military factors, while the non-military and federation efforts of NATO are handled by public relations men to the relatively tiny number of 30. —Devere Allen, Editor, *Worldover Press*.

One highly salutary effect has been the assurance of the publishers that all gory and pacifist features have been removed from their product. —Report of the US Congressional Select Committee on Pornographic Publications (H.R. 2510 82nd Congress).

Shall government by the people perish from the U.S.A.?

VITAL ISSUE IN RUTH REYNOLDS CASE

AMERICAN pacifists have appealed for \$1,500 dollars to pay the costs of an appeal by Ruth Reynolds against a conviction arising out of her support for the independence of Puerto Rico.

The case, says the Ruth Reynolds Defence Committee, raises the question of whether government by the people shall perish from the USA.

Until she came to New York in 1941, Ruth Reynolds, like most Americans, knew nothing about Puerto Rico except that it is an island in the Caribbean Sea acquired by the United States as a result of the Spanish-American War.

Then, with other pacifists in Harlem she began to do social work in the Puerto Rican neighbourhood in New York, and to learn something of how Puerto Rico has fared under American rule.

What she learned shocked her into a determination to remedy it.

With others she helped to form, in 1941, the American League for Puerto Rico's Independence and became its Secretary.

In 1948 she was sent to Puerto Rico by that organization to investigate the University crisis, when students acting without violence were clubbed to unconsciousness by police in the streets of Rio Piedras, when they were demonstrating peacefully for the independence of their country.

During the months that followed she became increasingly concerned over the conflict that seemed inevitable between the Government and the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico which advocated non-co-operation with the Government, and which, while it seemed unlikely to initiate violence, also seemed unlikely not to answer violence with violence.

Three policemen disagree

Believing that her duty was to call this situation to the attention of her fellow-Americans, so that they might demand that their Government free Puerto Rico without violence, she threw herself into the preparation of a book that might help to fulfill that purpose. That book was on the point of publication when her analysis proved correct—when Government decision to dissolve the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico resulted in island-wide revolution, in the arrest of more than two thousand

Puerto Rican patriots, and in her own incarceration.

Like other political prisoners, Ruth Reynolds waited two months after her arrest—at 3 a.m. on November 2, 1950—before being told what she was accused of.

One charge—that of riding home in a car on October 26 for the purpose of participating in the revolution on October 30—was so ridiculous that she was exonerated of it at her trial ten months later.

The other charge—for which she is convicted and sentenced to from two to six years—is that she went to a meeting, and there took an oath to give life and property for the independence of Puerto Rico.

Ruth Reynolds did go to the meeting—the annual Assembly of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico—ten months before the revolt. She denies that she took the oath, and the three policemen who testified that they saw her take it cannot agree on where she was when she allegedly took it.

She went to the meeting because she believed that, as Secretary of the American League for Puerto Rico's Independence, she should know first hand—and not merely from reports of either the Nationalists or their enemies—how they conduct their business. Witnesses testify that almost all of the five hundred people present took the oath in question; yet only Ruth Reynolds, who did not take it, was accused, tried, and sentenced for taking it.

Why she was gaoled

The U.S. Government in Puerto Rico knew that Ruth Reynolds was a pacifist, and a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and of the War Resisters League. They knew that she opposed the use of violence in the struggle for Puerto Rico's freedom, just as she opposed it in the struggle for racial justice in the United States, and just as she opposed the Second World War and the Korean action. Yet she was sentenced to from two to six years at hard labour for allegedly having taken an oath to give life and property for the independence of Puerto Rico.

The Government wanted to keep her, as well as the Nationalist Party, quiet during the period when the new Constitution was being drafted and promulgated—the Constitution which, as the Congressional Committee that recommended it said, does "not change Puerto Rico's fundamental political, social, and economic relationship to the United States."

The Government decided to prevent the publication of Ruth Reynolds' book, and to prevent the American people from hearing what she had to say about the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, about the Revolution, and about the Constitution. When she was sentenced, the American people were sentenced to ignorance of her point of view.

The Ruth Reynolds Defence Committee does not enter into the question of Puerto Rico's political status. It merely affirms Ruth Reynolds' right, as an American citizen, to investigate what is done under the American flag, and to work for what she believes in.

It defends the right of the American people to hear all points of view at all times, rather than having governmental opposition placed behind bars at the government's convenience.

EXHIBITION BY DENNIS JAMES

By Robert Greacen

Exhibition of Water Colours by Dennis James, the Irving Galleries, Irving St., W.C.2. Open until March 21.

THIS Exhibition of water colours by Dennis James—and oil paintings by his friend, Jane Moore—was opened by the actor, John Slater, who spoke of Mr. James having "taken his art out into the world."

Dennis James uses many different and contrasting backgrounds for his work—a few titles will give some indication of their variety: "Brixham Harbour," "Snow Scene, Derby," "The David, Florence," "Siena Cathedral." One notes his exuberant delight in boats and harbours—drawn realistically yet with underlying lyrical feeling. And he is also concerned with the technical possibilities of light as in the Derby snow scene.

Mr. James, who has done illustrations for various pacifist publications including *Peace News*, may be congratulated on what—to one layman at least—seems to be a remarkably sensitive and varied exhibition.

FOOTNOTE: The Contemporary Art Society have acquired three mining pictures by Dennis James which they have sent out with their loan collections.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or connection with, the matter advertised.

NEWS IN BRIEF

'Don't extend military operations in Korea'

American Will

THE American section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom has asked members to put pressure on Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles to secure an armistice in Korea.

They should be urged, say the WIL:

1. Not to extend military operations in Korea because of the obvious danger of launching all-out war;
2. Not to ask for more manpower from the United Nations members, since it deflects the UN further from its proper function of mediation, arbitration, etc.
3. To stop the drive to build up the South Korean Army, the real obstacle to future unification of Korea.

AMNESTY APPEAL

A LETTER recently addressed to the President of the United States from the American National Council for the Prevention of War appeals for an amnesty for all German and Japanese prisoners of war still in the hands of the war-time allies. The letter states that there are at least 900 German prisoners still held by the West and between 13 to 100 thousand by the Russians.

An amnesty action of generous scope would warm hearts and set pulses beating faster in every corner of this cold war world and by contributing to an emotionally sound peace between the enemies of World War II would help the growth of reconciliation and understanding.

Indonesia is now added to the list of countries where War Resisters' International have affiliated sections. W.R.I. has been corresponding for over a year with friends there and the group is now formally affiliated. S. Mamesah, the Indonesian Secretary reports that by public meetings and personal contacts the little group is gaining strength.

On Whit Sunday of this year the Burgo-master and Town Council of Florenville in Belgium will sponsor an International Federalist and World Government Day during which the "mundialisation" of this town will be publicly celebrated. In 1950 Florenville achieved the distinction of being the first Belgian town to proclaim itself "World Territory."

CHRISTIAN PACIFISM AND CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION

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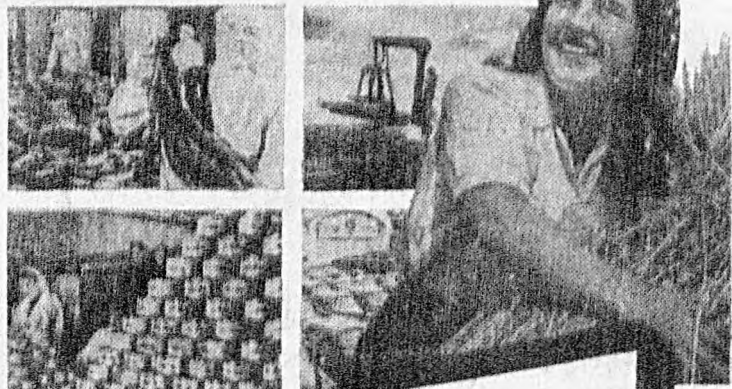
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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

MARCH 6, 1953, PEACE NEWS—5

Campaign Corner

PICK YOUR PITCH

How do you spend your lunch hour, that is those of you who are paid for working and are let out for 60 minutes of midday recreation?

I know several people who nibble a surreptitious sandwich whilst on the job—then leap forth as the booters sound for a whole hour of unhampered gallivanting.

Now if all the pacifists in all the offices in all the cities of Britain spent one lunch hour each week selling Peace News, circulation would be immediately increased by . . . well, your guess is as good as mine, but what a grand splash of pacifist witness we should have.

And there are four immediate openings in London for volunteers to do just this.

They are:

Tower Hill on Wednesdays (Dr. Soper's meetings);
YMCA Lunch Club every day;
Finsbury Square on Thursdays;
Marble Arch Friday evenings, 5.30 p.m.

We also want to re-open previously successful selling points at Holborn Station, Tottenham Court Road, St. Paul's, Liverpool Street Station, and to start new pitches, too. Other towns please follow suit.

Can you spare an hour lunchtime, or on your way home?

Pitch in your name by return. We must let people know there is a positive alternative to this senseless drift to war.

H.F.M.

Circulation last week:

11,200

"America's Ribbentrop"

APROPOS Alan Mister's letter last week, pacifists should try to distinguish between abuse and unpalatable truth. When the PN political correspondent called Foster Dulles "the most sinister figure of the post-war political scene," he was giving an objective opinion, based on factual data which are available to anyone who is sufficiently interested in the truth to study the international situation seriously.

The only point on which the assertion can be questioned is whether Dulles is more of a sinister menace to world peace than a dozen or so other top-level political gangsters in his own and one or two other countries, or whether he does in fact stand, like Satan in his entourage, "above the rest and proudly eminent." It is a minor point, and perhaps worth discussing in an idle moment, as one might discuss whether the krait or the cobra is the most poisonous of the snakes. But I think the writer would agree that Dulles tops the lot if only because he has the most influence.

In this post-war world, it is as much the duty of pacifists to call attention to the danger of men like Dulles as it was between the wars for Socialists to warn the world of the danger of men like Hitler and Mussolini. In one sense it is even more necessary; for before the war there was at least a powerful section of the press eager to expose the truth about European Fascism, whereas today the British press is tragically unanimous in hiding the truth about American foreign policy.

What the people of this country need today more urgently than they need any other kind of information, is the facts about that policy; for it is their abysmal ignorance in this matter which, more than any other single factor, makes the third world war possible. They need to be told that that policy is as great a menace to world peace as that of any other government of modern times, including Hitler's. They need to be told that Britain's participation in the Korean war was made possible only by means of the most dastardly campaign of lies that ever led the population of half-a-dozen countries right up the garden to the mantle of Goebbels has fallen on Dulles and Co., and it's a tight fit.

I disagree with Alan Mister when he says that the question of the relative wickedness of the two governments is immaterial. It cannot be immaterial so long as the British public only knows the case for one side. It is our duty as pacifists to try to make them see the rights and wrongs of both sides. And what needs to be said at the moment is that, for all its sins, it is not the Soviet Government which is threatening the peace of the world, but the American Government.

Whatever the "Russian Menace" is, it is not the same thing as the American Menace, and to sweep aside the question of

distinction as if both governments were doing the same thing is a serious evasion of the truth which confuses the most vital issue of our time. Even the simplest reader of detective fiction learns that it is a gross violation of justice to charge two criminals with the same crime simply because they are both criminals.

The right way to treat lies is to expose them and the right way to treat murderers is to restrain them; and it is no part of the doctrine of pacifism to refrain from denouncing evil or warning the world of the intentions of evil men. And I hope PN's columns will always be open to people who are capable of performing that paramount duty to humanity, particularly at this time when Truth lies at the bottom of her well under a heap of newspapers.

I don't know what some of our Christian pacifists would have thought of that Jew who went about calling His sovereign a fox and telling the local priests they deserved to be drowned. They certainly wouldn't have invited Him to tea. His abusive language would have been bad for the children.

B. J. BOOTHROYD.

Firle, Sussex.

Kenya Land Petition

MANY readers of Peace News have written for copies of the Kenya Land Petition and this is now being prepared for presentation to Parliament. Will those who have not yet returned their petition forms completed please do so during the next week so that all may be included.

DOUGLAS G. ROGERS,

Secretary,

Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism,
8 Gayfere Street,
London, S.W.1.

Korean freedom

A RECENT Reuter report states that a press gangs now roam South Korea, with the result that men of service age (17-30) go into hiding. The private soldier's pay is 35 cents per month—and no family allowances. A soldier's dependants may therefore be obliged to seek shelter in a crowded refugee camp.

One can but hope that the South Korean appreciates the beauties of freedom, and is not so stupid as to confound them with the horrors of slavery.

TOM SULLIVAN.

31 Knockbreds Park, Belfast.

Facts about Soviet Army

THE U.S. Chief of Staff, General Bradley, reported in The Times on February 20, has stated that the Soviet Armed Forces amount to 2,500,000 men. This statement fully confirms the repeated Soviet assertions that their armed forces had been reduced substantially to pre-war level, and it is a complete refutation, from

one of the highest possible U.S. authorities on the subject, of all the allegations during 1951 by members of U.M. Government that the USSR had at least 4,000,000 men under arms, and by certain newspapers that they even had 8,000,000 men under arms. Above all, it is a refutation of Mr. Attlee's statement in his capacity as Prime Minister—of February 12, 1951, that "Soviet Russia did not demobilise its forces at the end of the war."

Yet it was entirely on the basis of such statements as these that our vast rearmament programme was put across to the British people.

General Bradley's figures completely refute the suggestion that the USSR has disproportionately large armed forces. In proportion to population, area, and length of frontier, the Soviet armed forces are small compared to those of both the U.S.A. and Britain.

PAT SLOAN,

Gen. Secretary,

British Soviet Friendship Society,
36 Spencer Street, London, E.C.1.

On the right side

MOST papers, as you will be aware, are biased towards the Right as opposed to the Left; very few, if any, are biased towards the right as opposed to the wrong. Peace News, however, sets a fine example and I only wish I could do more than I do to increase its circulation.

F. R. HUTTON,

24 Gordonbrock Road, S.E.4.

How the drift to war might be halted

Neutrality—Germany's Way to Peace, by Stuart Morris. Peace News Pamphlet, 4d.

HOW simple is the technique of keeping public opinion lethargic and obtuse!

Anyone opposing armed conflict and violence can be dismissed as a Kremlin agitator or "creature," to seek an alternative to the power policies of either Washington or Moscow has almost been made the equivalent of national treason.

Similarly, when "neutrality", as the only constructive alternative to American or Russian domination of the world, by violence if necessary, began to be advocated the powers that be soon saw to it that it should become synonymous with a cowardly as well as impractical indifference to the world's fate.

But the inevitable logic of events has made "neutrality", in spite of the somewhat unfortunate choice of the word and the campaign of deliberate distortion it has undergone, into a positive, worldwide and growing idea. This was clearly demonstrated by the very recent speeches by

Mr. Nehru and Mr. Bevan on a Third Bloc of Nations.

If neutrality is as yet no real force it is because it has lacked cohesion and leadership.

Stuart Morris's pamphlet is therefore all the more welcome as it states in clear and incisive language how the drift towards World War III—and the virtual end of civilisation—might still be halted by neutrality.

The author applies the idea in particular to Germany, drawing attention to the fact that the Treaty now coming up for ratification will create another 38th parallel in Europe; he also deals in detail with a free, united and disarmed Germany which, on the contrary, would help to preserve the peace.

Finally, Stuart Morris lays stress on what may be after all the most crucial point in the issue of peace or war, and whether we shall have progress or destruction, namely the strengthening of our own moral values in order to resist the evil forces which are steadily engulfing the whole world.

J.S.

Notes for your Diary

Friday, March 13

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE: 7.30 p.m.: Connaught Hall, Backett St. Leslie Hale, M.P. "Kenya." Chair, Ivan Gelfen. Tickets 6d. from 99 Grosvenor Rd., Jesmond. Newcastle-on-Tyne 2. PPU and Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism.

Saturday, March 14

PAISWICK: 3 p.m.: Gyde Home. Rev. Clifford Macquire, "Talking Peace in Moscow." Fol.

SALISBURY: 12 noon: Poster parade from Iddisford village to Microbiological Research Establishment, Iddisford. 3 p.m. Poster parade from London Road Cemetery Salisbury. 4 p.m. Open-air meeting, Salisbury Market Place, speaker Stuart Morris. Non-violent Resistance Group.

Sunday, March 15

CARSHALTON BECHES: 3 p.m.: 17 Hill Rd. (Nr. Stn.). Alfred Tucker (WRU), "The Position of Conscientious Objectors throughout the World." PPU.

Tuesday, March 17

HAMMERSMITH: 7.45 p.m.: Dalling Rd. Methodist Sunday Sch. W.G. Rev. Clifford Macquire, "My Visit to Russia." PPU, Fol.

Wednesday, March 18

HERNE HILL: 8 p.m.: Herne Hill Cong. Ch. Hugh Faulkner, Chair: John Ferguson, MA, HD, Fol.

LEEDS: 7.30 p.m.: 15 New Searbro Rd., Bramley. Dr. Arnold Kettle "Visit to Russia." PPU.

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PEACE WITH CHINA

are not at their disposal for purposes which were not agreed to between America and her Allies.

"But if you take up dollar aid you cannot stand up for these principles in the councils of the world," he added. "Let us not only pass this resolution, but let us be prepared to pull in our belts if necessary to enable us to play our part in bringing peace to Asia."

War the common enemy of humanity —Emrys Hughes, MP

"China is something more to me than a place on the map," said Emrys Hughes, Labour MP for Ayrshire S. and Chairman of Peace News. "I think of the millions of people I saw there last autumn, at Peking, Shanghai and Canton, and of the people in the miserable little villages. War to them would be an infinite horror and disaster. For they have freed themselves from the chains and shackles of feudalism and are looking forward to the building of a new civilisation."

He spoke of the great work which had been achieved in China in controlling the floods in which previously whole populations had been drowned; in the improvement of sanitation which was stamping out epidemic diseases; in education, and the emancipation of women.

"It would be criminal," he said, "for any country in the world, with material power and atom bombs, to check this great spiritual revolution. Floods, epidemic diseases, and backward habits are the common enemy of humanity; war, too, is the common enemy of humanity; we have a duty to humanity to say that we will stand for no extension of the war to China, and that we will do our best to bring down any government that contemplates it."

Asia united on problem of war —Fareed Jafri

Mr. Fareed Jafri of Pakistan said that the change in American foreign policy was a serious one. The Prime Minister of Pakistan had said that it would affect their economy, and he had been right.

For the last two years China had been the largest buyer of cotton on which Pakistan's economy depended.

If a policy of blockading China, which was being pressed in some quarters, was adopted then eighty million people in Pakistan would starve.

He was concerned also on the moral issue. "To us people of the East everything depends on moral law. Democracy has no meaning—only if it is a spiritual democracy." The people of Africa and Asia were awake and united. Between Dr. Shervankar of India and himself there was no difference of attitude on the subject; Asia was united on the problem of war.

"If war comes it would mean the end of good relations between our countries. The Commonwealth would be finished, and the destiny of 500 million people would be injured by it. Let us hope that good sense will prevail and we shall be saved from calamity."

All war morally wrong —Dr. Soper

Dr. Soper, President Designate of the Methodist Conference said that he was present as a Christian minister. He was concerned with the moral issue: that was

FAITH IN ARMS ON THE RUN —Preston Benson

HIGH tribute was paid to Peace News by Preston Benson, well-known as the writer of the "Star Man's Diary" and Chairman of the Fleet Street Forum, at a social organised in aid of Peace News at Croydon last week.

Contrasting the two papers he said that the Star existed to sell news; if someone was coughed in the street round the corner that would sell the Croydon evening papers. Peace News was "a propaganda paper on a very high level," but it had a high news value; it printed the facts that other papers ignored.

"This arms business is on the run" he said "of that I am convinced."

The Chair was taken by Robert Mennell. The Editor of Peace News, and Oliver Hattersby and Dora Dawtry were present from the Peace News staff.

Another topical Peace News Pamphlet:
NEUTRALITY
Germany's way to Peace
By STUART MORRIS
price 4d. (postage 1d.)
(3s. 6d. dozen, post free)

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WELCOME HOME TO
D. N. PRITT, Q.C.
On Sunday, March 8th, a RECEPTION in honour of Mr. and Mrs. D. N. Pritt will be held at the ROYAL HOTEL, Wolfram Place, W.C.1. 6.30 to 8 p.m. ALL WELCOME. Admission Free. Refreshments.
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his primary and fundamental reason for taking part.

In his view all war was morally wrong, and what was morally wrong could not be politically right.

"Unless we can overthrow this whole violent mentality that has got America by the throat and is trying to strangle us as well, we shall inevitably succumb to it."

We could not localise war; we could only refuse it utterly, and be prepared to take the consequences of that refusal.

If we compromise with what is wrong, he said, we should be incriminated as a junior partner, our power of choice would be limited, and we should be powerless to stop the drift to war.

Already in visiting the Eastern counties he had gained the impression that America had taken over Norfolk.

He appealed for a collection which "would impress America" and which would enable the Peace with China Council to organise other meetings throughout the country.

US backed the wrong horse —Sir Compton Mackenzie

Sir Compton Mackenzie emphasised that we had a part in a great resurgence of the East. We had enabled the Eastern peoples to develop themselves to the stage when all that remained for us to do was what some called the humiliating task of getting out. Yet never were we regarded with so much respect by the peoples of Burma, India and the East as today.

America had backed the wrong horse in recognising Chiang Kai-shek, and we must continue to press that 500 million people should not be denied representation on the great council of nations and that there should be no war with China. The Korean war had been described as a war of ideologies, but the only way to fight ideas was with ideas. It might be optimistic to say that there would never be war again, but he hoped that might be true.

India will not be dragged in —Dr. Shervankar

Dr. Shervankar of India emphasised that the peoples of the East were united on the question of war with China.

"We naturally tend to look at the world with different eyes from the people of the West," he said. "Our background is different, our history is different, and our connection with China has not only been of longer standing, but it has also been more uniformly friendly over a thousand years. We see no need to mar this historic friendship."

"China has been through revolution, and civil war," he continued, "but she has still remained a friendly neighbour to India, Burma and other countries of the East. We will not allow ourselves to be infected from our purpose of making links with China. War with China is alien to us. This resolution would be accepted with equal unanimity in all the countries of the East."

India did not fear that she would be dragged into war as "a junior partner" for she had made it clear that she would not form a part of any rival groupings in the world. These groupings have been made for military purposes, and we in India believe that "if you want peace prepare for war" is a wicked fallacy.

Britain should demand the recognition of China on the United Nations for three reasons:

1. It would remove the threat of counter revolution in Asia since it would weaken Chiang Kai-shek and restore confidence in the Far East;
2. It would pave the way to a settlement of the Korean and the Indonesian wars; and
3. It would be the greatest contribution that Britain could make to sealing her relationship of friendship with India, if she were to back India's effort to secure China's representation on the councils of the world.

The slippery slope of compromise —Kingsley Martin

Kingsley Martin, Editor of the New Statesman, commenced his speech by recalling the steps Britain had taken down the slippery slope of compromise.

We had protested against American action in Formosa, we had protested against the advance of MacArthur, we had reluctantly accepted the lamentable resolution branding China as an aggressor, and we had compromised at the Truce talks themselves.

Speaking of these talks Kingsley Martin pointed out that China had very little motive for wishing for a Korean Truce: we had not offered her a settlement to follow, and if American troops were moved to Formosa the war so far as she was concerned might not be over.

He felt there were three things we should do:

1. We should make it plain that we would not back Chiang Kai-shek in raids on the mainland nor enter any war for his reinstatement;
2. We should declare that Formosa belonged to the rightful government of China, and in present circumstances we should remove our Consul from Formosa;
3. We should recognise the great revolutionary movement of Asia and strive to become a partner in this new kind of revolution which is linked to neither of the two power blocs in the world.

Wash off the whitewash

Let us never forget the supreme importance of this first united check to aggression (Korean war). Let us never forget the great and sacrificial role of our American friends. . . . It is about time intelligent people ceased . . . mean-spirited sniping at a great and friendly nation. . . . The most dangerous issue of all today is Korea. If he really wanted to end it, Stalin could do so on the instant without even going outside the walls of the Kremlin, by a few strokes of the pen and a friendly nod of the head. . . . The best hope for the democracies is to carry on in unity and strength. — A. J. Cummings, News Chronicle, February 27, 1953.

WHETHER a war be "hot" or "cold," it has always been considered necessary to blacken the enemy in advance of the battle, and all the time during the battle.

Whatever the incidents or causes of the dispute, the enemy must be the unprovoked aggressor and the only cause; this is a recognised rule in all national propaganda.

It is, however, during the process of blackening the enemy, rather unnecessary to plaster the whitewash so thickly over the friend that he is completely unrecognisable.

The grave concern felt in this country when MacArthur extended the war in Korea by driving right up to the Manchurian frontier and threatening to bomb the power stations, thereby bringing in the Chinese, was reasonable and understandable.

In the same way the present concern at Eisenhower's proposals which seem to encourage Chiang Kai-shek to attack the mainland, has nothing to do with whether Chiang can succeed without American support, but everything to do with a genuine fear that this is a provocative act, even if not an actively aggressive one, which might extend the war, to the danger of the whole world.

To call the serious expression of such fears "sniping" is to be blinded by the heaviness of the whitewash! It is sheer nonsense to suggest that at this stage of the truce-deadlock, Stalin has only to nod his head to settle the whole matter. So far as that goes, Truman could have nodded his head to Vyshinsky's proposals for a cease-fire, to be followed by an eleven nations commission to investigate the prisoners-of-war question, a long time ago.

If the positions had been reversed, screening of United Nations prisoners brought forth a statement that many of them did not wish to return to their countries, there would have been a violent outcry if any responsible statesman had, with the stroke of a pen, and a nod of the head, signed away their liberty without investigation.

According to the United Nations figures they hold 83,000 North Korean and Chinese prisoners, of which about 5,000 do not wish to be repatriated. If this is so the Russian proposal for an investigating commission consisting of all eleven nations would at least have been worth trying.

The cause of liberty and democracy in fact been ill-served by U.S. policy in Korea. It has now been forgotten that the United Nations, when they joined with the North Koreans, specifically agreed that their sole concern was to drive the invaders back over the 38th parallel.

Mr. Cummings also seems to have forgotten the suffering of the innocent people of Korea, which is due entirely to the fact that an American Commander-in-Chief refused to stop at the 38th parallel and ruthlessly turned the whole country into a battlefield as he drove the so-called United Nations troops up to the Chinese frontier.

The burning and bombing of towns, villages and civilians has no doubt seemed to the helpless inhabitants, uncommensurate like "naked aggression," and it must be remembered that if this had not been done there would not now be tens of thousands of Chinese Communists prisoners in Korea at all.

There is no simple way to end the deadlock for those who refuse to accept a simple pacifist way, and it is false and foolish to try to make out that American policy has been spotlessly pure. Underneath the whitewash there are quite a few bluish stains just as underneath the blacking there will be some good points.

The best hope for the democracies is not to lie in a unity whose structure depends upon military strength; that is the kind of unity we once had with Russia which turned out to be no unity at all.

The best hope for the future is to wash off both the blacking and the whitewash so that it is possible to recognise the good as well as the bad, and to unite the task of reconciliation and rehabilitation. When this has been done, it will no longer be discovered that good is, after all, dominant.

5 MCH 51

Obituary HARRISON BARROW

THE life of Harrison Barrow, who died at 84 on February 15, was marked outstandingly by his work for his city on the Birmingham City Council and by his witness for pacifism. Sometimes the two clashed, and then the pacifism was uppermost.

He was first engaged in active opposition to war during the South African war. He was on the platform of the Birmingham Town Hall meeting addressed by Lloyd George, which resulted in a riotous attack by the crowd.

His attitude to the South African war, lost him his seat on the Council, but he was elected to it again two years later.

World War I was next to interrupt his work for his city. In 1914 he was Mayor-designate. His attitude to the war prevented him from assuming that office.

Later in the war he was sentenced to six months imprisonment for his part in the publication of a pamphlet, "A Challenge to Militarism." He was deprived of all his municipal offices, and his name was removed from the City's Commission of the Peace.

After the war, however, he resumed his seat on the Council, did a great deal of valuable work for Birmingham, and in 1949 was made a Freeman of the City.

During the first world war he worked hard for conscientious objectors, and it was his opposition to conscription and his support of COs in prison which led to the publication of the pamphlet which brought him a prison sentence with Edith M. Ellis and Arthur Watts.

During the concluding years of his life he acted as Treasurer of the No Conscription Council. J.A.S.

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